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ship among the nations in the one cause in which all states and all peoples are most deeply concerned, we are heartened with increased hope in the ultimate triumph of international justice and with fresh inspiration to strengthen in us our faith in the self-governing democracy.

Recently its powerful influence has again been cast into the scales in favor of international arbitration; and on the first day of next September, it will appear the second time and in the second case to be heard before that Tribunal, where will be arrayed on one side three European states and on the other five European and three American states. How marvelous and inspiring is the contrast between the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the star of Napoleon fell at Leipzig in the shock of the battle of nations, and the dawn of the twentieth century, when the morning star of peace rises at The Hague over eleven states yielding homage to a common law in the arbitration of nations!

The American College and International Arbitration.*

BY PRESIDENT W. H. P. FAUNCE, OF BROWN UNIVERSITY.

Horace Mann uttered a truth with which we are all familiar, but which we often forget, when he said: "Whatever you wish to have appear in the life of a nation you must first introduce into its schools." Every reform begins as a feeling, as an instinctive and unreasoned revolt; then it becomes an idea; then it passes into an education. No reform achieves anything until it passes beyond the hortatory stage, beyond the dream stage, and settles down to the serious, slow plodding, irresistible work of education. Teach in the schools that society is a social contract, and that solely, and a little later you will have in the streets a French Revolution. Teach in the schools the doctrine of *laissez faire*, and you will soon have employers who steel their hearts against their fellowmen. Teach in the schools the essential brotherhood of all men, and you are doing much to pave the way for the federation of all civilized nations.

Moreover, whatever may be true of the old world, it is true in America that a large part of the moral energy of our generation is pulsating through the American college. Some of us have been willing to leave the active pastorate in the hope of getting more deeply into the ministry. Once the Church monopolized the moral energy of the community; the man who wished to do good to his fellows must do it through the avenues of the Church. Happily now for the Church itself, it is no longer the only avenue of moral energy. When I look down on the average Sunday morning congregation I am oppressed by the perception of how large a percentage of the average Sunday gathering — complacent, conventional and respectable — is not likely to be seriously changed by anything that the preacher may do or say. By reason of mis-education, by reason of the warping influence of unhappy experience, by reason of the fixity that comes with years, by reason of fossilization of mind, a very large percentage will not be changed by anything the Sunday service may offer. But you never can feel

that way as you look down upon an audience of college men. As I look down upon four or five hundred such every morning, I feel as if I were looking on a company of locomotives, standing on the track with the steam up. No trouble about getting them to go! The only difficulty is to get them moving on the right rails. A large part of the energy of our time is pulsating through the American college, and for this reason it is a supremely important matter how our colleges are thinking regarding international arbitration. Therefore, I welcome here — if I may stand beside our host for a moment — so many college graduates, college professors and executives. Let us carry home from this Conference something of stimulus which we may give to the young men and women of this country, stirring them to work for the great and noble cause in whose name we are assembled.

Now what can the colleges do, and what are they doing? You will be surprised if I say anything about college athletics. Those of us who read the newspapers — and we all do, those of us who believe in the veracity of reporters — and some of us do, are aware that according to popular opinion the most important department in the well-conducted college of to-day is that of athletics. But in athletics our students are committed to the principle that whenever in intercollegiate contests there arises any dispute whatever, it shall be referred to impartial expert opinion. Boys trained to believe *that*, for four years in a secondary school, and for four years more in college, are getting hold of a principle that will bear wider application yet. In all their athletic sports our young men are made to learn not only chivalry toward a defeated foe, not only loyalty to a defeated friend, but they are made to believe in the futility and brutality of violence; they are made to recognize that a dispute is to be referred always to brain, and never to brawn; that it is expert opinion that counts when two colleges fall out in a legitimate contest, and that they must submit instantly when the referee has pronounced his decision. If the Duke of Wellington believed that the battle of Waterloo was won on the playground at Eton, may we not believe that our college athletic fields are the rehearsals for Geneva Conferences and Hague Tribunals and Pan-American Congresses, and in their small measure are doing a little something to bring about the parliament of man, the federation of the world! [Applause.]

But there is another thing our colleges are doing, — they are showing us the service of science in preparing a mechanism of international public opinion. I venture to say that public opinion in the international or even the national sense, is a modern thing. Public opinion as a force in the sense in which we now have it and can wield it, is something essentially novel, and something that depends for the machinery of its operation and the means of its execution on the apparatus furnished by scientific invention and discovery, often in the laboratories of our colleges. The world has acquired through modern science, as it were, a new nervous system. The network of railways that cover the continent, the cables that pierce every sea, the wireless wonders of Marconi, — all these furnish a mechanism which is a nervous system to the world. What would it mean to a human being to acquire suddenly a new nervous system? Vastly more than it means for the world.

* Address at the Lake Mohonk Arbitration Conference, May 27, 1903.

When Whittier sang at the laying of the Atlantic cable: "Round the world the thought of all is as the thought of one," he never dreamed of the Suez canal or the trans-Siberian railway. The modern Paul Revere hangs no lantern, and mounts no steed at midnight; he simply steps to a telegraph office and events are announced in San Francisco long before they occurred in Massachusetts. When the battle of New Orleans was fought by General Jackson, it was because he had not heard of the treaty of peace with England, signed two weeks before. Under such circumstances a national consciousness could hardly exist; the whole country could not possibly have the same information or take the same action at the same time. To-day our nation may throb with indignation from end to end before breakfast, may form a national resolve before high noon, and execute that resolve within twenty-four hours. That means that national passion is more terrible, national conviction more formidable, and international opinion more irresistible than ever before in the world's history.

And here is the answer to those who say: "How are you going to enforce the decisions of the Hague Tribunal?" We answer: "There is no need of any army to enforce the decisions of all nations upon any one nation." There is no need of navies or armies to execute the decree of the entire civilization of the globe on any one factor of that civilization. The old ecclesiastical motto has application far outside the church: "*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*" (the whole world is sure to be right). The opinion of the whole world is self-executing. College men are the ones who ought to take charge of this new mechanism, and make it the implement of righteousness and peace.

I made a list the other day in my library of the men in the last century whose voices have been most potent against war and in favor of peace. On the list were such names as Voltaire, W. H. H. Lecky, John Morley, Frederic Harrison, Herbert Spencer — no one of whom would suffer himself to be called a Christian. Is it not strange that the great voices in fervent appeal to reason rather than to force should come from non-Christian sources? Are we proud of that fact? This Conference, I fully realize, is the offspring of Christian faith; but it is a rare thing indeed to hear from the Christian pulpit to-day a ringing utterance against war, or a fervid utterance in behalf of international arbitration. Perhaps this explains why so few of our young men know Emerson's "Boston Hymn," and so many multitudes are thoroughly familiar with the splendid, virile, deplorable paganism of some of Kipling's lyrics. We need to come back to Emerson's noble summons:

"My angel, his name is Freedom, —
Choose him to be your king;
He shall cut pathways east and west,
And fend you with his wing."

The pathways are being cut. Let college men press in, and over those passes carry the message of "Peace on earth, goodwill to men."

One thing more: Our colleges and universities can give us a fresh reading of the story of creation, a truer idea of what the cosmic process is, by which our world has thus far been fashioned. We are suffering in many regions from a partial reading of the cosmic order, and a substitution of the cosmic for the moral order. I have

no time to unfold this idea. Darwin gave currency to the conception that the lower orders of creation present everywhere a scene of relentless struggle, a struggle which results in the survival of the fittest and the extinction of the unfit. Friedrich Nietzsche has carried this doctrine into the realm of morals, and tells us that the law of the cosmos must be the law of man's spiritual nature as well. He frankly affirms that this is the part of the strong man, to "help nature in the elimination of the unfit, provided only that we use up the unfit in the production of the stronger man that is to be." This doctrine percolating down through all the strata of society is profoundly affecting our industry, our politics, our society. It determines Russia's attitude toward the Jews. It is radically changing our attitude toward the negro. It is affecting all modern diplomacy — the idea that the strong nations of the earth are to administer the world, and the weaker nations must necessarily go to the wall.

Now the college, through its laboratories and its libraries, can show us that we have only partially read the story of the great world-order. Since Darwin died, a whole host of facts have come to light, receiving poetic interpretation in the "Ascent of Man," by Henry Drummond, receiving scientific exposition in the last book of Prince Kropotkin, and teaching us everywhere that mutual aid is a factor in evolution. We are coming to see that the fittest to survive are not those with the strongest beak and tongue and claw, but those with greatest power to serve their fellows. We have come to see that the invalid in the sick chamber may render greater service than the stout mechanic; that not the bread-winner but the love-awakener is most needed in our strenuous civilization. A truer idea of what the cosmic process has been, and is, will do much to rectify hasty inferences, and so unethical codes of conduct.

This, then, is what our colleges can do. By the chivalry of true athletic sports, by teaching men the use of the powers and forces they are now discovering, by a clearer and deeper reading of the story of the world, they can help toward the consummation we so devoutly wish and whose coming these conferences at Lake Mohonk are doing much to hasten.

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